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MILLIONS AND MILLIONS FOR FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

By EUGENE W. CASTLE

SINCE 1948 THE AMERICAN taxpayer has been "rooked" for more than $400,000,000 for global propaganda. That is what the U.S. Information Agency is spending for stupidly ineffective efforts to influence the minds and motives of foreigners. Scores of Americans returning from abroad, including business people, newspapermen and Congressmen of both parties, have repeatedly warned against the maintenance of these totally unwarranted expenditures.

Unfortunately, many of our foreign service people abroad are still devotees of the Truman-Acheson-Harriman regime, while others have been overseas so long that they have no chance to become acquainted with the actual issues that concern the American people today. At home, thousands of U.S.I.A. payrollers all too often actually spearhead policies and pronouncements that invite foreign politicians to keep right on calling for more free American aid billions.

Incredible also is the fact that the Director of the U.S. Information Agency, Theodore C. Streibert, who determines all global propaganda policies for the Government of the United States, has never had any experience as a newspaper reporter. Director Streibert relies upon four regional directors whom he calls his "eyes and ears". These four individuals who actually operate our world-wide propaganda octopus are all "seasoned" holdovers from the Truman-Acheson-Harriman regime.

While our top officials continually plead to both friend and foe for peace, our own propagandists, nearly 7,000 in all, continually resort to ill-conceived, blatant and repetitious overseas promotion that appears to foreigners to be a propaganda campaign of "hot war" intensity, while our Allies and ourselves are endeavoring to keep the cold war on ice. Many foreigners accuse Uncle Sam of constantly "needling" the liars of Moscow and causing them to annoy all peoples everywhere with still greater untruths. The majority of Europeans believe that a real start in the direction of world peace might begin if the propagandists of both the West and the East would take a very long vacation.

THE U.S.I.A. was originally created for the sole purpose of disseminating propaganda to foreign peoples, but the Agency is now being utilized to propagandize Americans! An example was the recent announcement that the President's Washington Press Conference would, for the first time in history, be "taped" so that it could be heard in its entirety by American radio audiences. When this announcement was made, it was not revealed that the innovation was "sold" to the White House by C. D. Jackson, chief speech writer for the President, well-known former exponent of "one-world" citizenship theories and head of the President's Committee on Psychological Warfare. The day following the conference a brief notice was released to explain why we were permitted to hear a complete Washington press meeting. The reason, it now appears, was to enable the "Voice of America" to broadcast, according to its own press release, "throughout most of the world almost the entire press conference held by President Eisenhower". In the same release the U.S.I.A. stated that an estimated 45 million foreigners heard the broadcast. This global audience, it seems, was purely an estimate because the broadcast had not been previously announced and therefore came to its foreign listeners completely by surprise. Furthermore, the audience figures given out by the Washington Agency were prepared *before* the broadcast actually occurred.

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Last October, when President Eisenhower publicly outlined the objectives of the U.S.I.A., he stated that "the new Agency will primarily present factual reports without attempting to imprint American culture on other nations". Mr. Streibert echoed this purpose thus: "avoiding a propagandistic tone . . . we shall, therefore, concentrate on objective factual news reporting and appropriate commentaries".

Unfortunately for all Americans, both the President and his chief global propagandist did not then know, and still appear to be unaware of it, that propaganda and information are no more the same than fact and fiction, and that is the basic reason why the U.S.I.A., its policies and its operations are, in the main, useless and actually harmful to the cause of the American people.

Ironically, while our Government's propaganda expenditures were increased more than five-fold, anti-Americanism abroad increased more than one-hundred fold! During the fiscal years of 1947 and 1948, the U.S. Government's total expenditure for world-wide propaganda did not exceed $21,000,000 annually, and our nation was then held in higher esteem by most foreign peoples than it is today.

We are told that our $17,000,000 budget for the "Voice of America" is much too low. But, our propagandists do not tell us the entire story. They fail to reveal that the U.S. Armed Forces abroad spend about $50,000,000 annually for an "around the clock" broadcasting operation, and their own public relations officers stress the fact that while primarily intended for the members of our military these broadcasts are frequently listened to by the civilian populations on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Additionally, Uncle Sam allegedly foots ninety per cent of the bill for a supposedly private enterprise known as "Radio Free Europe". This is a $25,000,000 annual effort to broadcast American ideas and ideals to Europeans. Therefore, for radio broadcasting to foreigners, the good-natured American taxpayer picks up a check that totals $100,000,000 per year! This huge sum, spent for radio only, means that terse, professionally presented factual news programs, beamed to the behind-the-Iron-Curtain countries only, become a mere "side line" and are lost in an avalanche of global propaganda. If any foreign nation, friend or foe, attempted to clutter up our airways with anything approximating this overdose of "yakety-yack-yack" Americans would, very likely, shut off or destroy their radios.

OUR PROPAGANDISTS, AND THOSE who sponsor their activities, take special pride in boasting about the "cultural relations" maintained through the U.S. Information Agency's Overseas Libraries, operated at a cost of about $4,000,000 annually. In Paris, France, for example, we maintain a large government-operated library. In addition to this main library, the U.S.I.A. maintains half a dozen branch libraries in that many French cities. However, our propagandists are careful to avoid mentioning that this costly and extensive chain of libraries is, actually, totally unneeded.

In 1920, the American Library of Paris became the largest single United States cultural enterprise, ever operated overseas, on the basis of strictly *private* support. This worthy enterprise, supported by American friends of France, maintains branches in six other French cities. French men and women borrow from it more than 400,000 books per year. This one free enterprise to promote culture in France costs the American taxpayer not one red cent and it accomplishes more in cementing and furthering Franco-American relations than all of our costly propaganda efforts. Moreover, it offers ample proof that throughout the Republic of France the U.S. Information Agency's library setup is sheer duplication, as well as a poor imitation, of an honest and unselfish effort conceived and maintained by American citizens for more than thirty-three years and without political fanfare, waste and corruption.

Another favored activity of the U.S. propagandists and the liberal "one-worlders" who support them, is their International Motion Picture Department. This is probably one of the most brazen bad-will builders for Americans ever conceived. For years, our taxpayers have been milked out of tens of mil-

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lions of dollars for an endless stream of documentary (travelogue type) films. These propaganda movies are seen only by foreign audiences and mostly in remote rural and Point Four areas, reached by means of more than three hundred and fifty mobile trucks equipped with loud speakers and 16 MM movie projectors.

Two Appropriations Committees of the Congress, during the last session, endeavored to terminate this film propaganda foolishness. The budget for this item was cut from $7,000,000 to $3,000,000, but, despite the expressed will of the Congress, Director Streibert is now actively campaigning for direct assistance from the White House and hopes that the President will pressure the Congress, now in session, to restore this film extravagance to its previous place in the propaganda budget.

Let's reverse the situation and suppose that some foreign nations should decide to send mobile film trucks, manned by their own agents, to every hamlet throughout the United States to show their propaganda films to us. Most Americans would resent such an unwarranted and unjustifiable intrusion into the routine of their daily lives and the trespassing upon their properties. Yet, this is exactly what our U.S.I.A. is doing, what its predecessors have been doing for five years, and what our Washington propagandists are desperately trying to continue doing and on an enlarged scale. This film activity and its global maintenance is obviously in complete contradiction to President Eisenhower's assurance, given last October, that "the new Agency will present factual reports without attempting to imprint American culture on other nations".

A recent example of the kind of films displayed to foreigners in out of the way places is the subject entitled "Christmas in Vermont". This movie, believe it or not, "proved popular because it showed lots of snow to people who have never encountered it in their own experiences . . ."

Of all countries, the United States is the one nation that needs no film propaganda because an overseas audience of more than 200,000,000 people weekly sees American-made entertainment movies. The score, for the past five years: Moscow-made film exports amount to an average of 12 feature films annually, while nearly 300 American-made features are shipped abroad every year. And the showing of our feature films, unlike those of the Soviet, is unrestricted in nearly all countries because they are propaganda free.

NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO STATIONS in all the principal countries subscribe to either American wire services or those maintained by foreign countries. Many of the important foreign newspapers maintain their own bureaus or correspondents in Washington, D. C., and other news "nerve" centers throughout the United States. Every important happening and official act deemed worthy of foreign press and radio coverage is instantly recorded and in a matter of minutes is delivered to foreign news and radio editors in every quarter of the globe.

Our Washington propagandists appear to be unaware of all this, or, if they know about it, it is a secret well kept so that our taxpayers can be saddled with an annual cable bill of $6,000,000; for 6,000 words, compiled in Washington, "filed" five days a week, and dispatched by wire to fifty-eight different places throughout the world. And what actually happens to most of this "rush-rush" news? Our Washington propaganda bulletins are used mostly to decorate the walls of U.S. Information Centers maintained at "high rent" locations in cities throughout Europe and some sections of South America, the Orient and the Near East. The number of native people who read this "made in the U.S. Information Agency" news barrage, is pitifully small.

It has perhaps never occurred to the U.S.I.A. that "via air mail" would be speedy enough for these 6,000-word-long, five-day-a-week propaganda bulletins. This would save nearly $6,000,000 annually for

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the American taxpayer. How can this wasteful and shameful global bad-will building continue uninterrupted and in an Administration that faithfully promised, only a little over a year ago, to "clean up the mess in Washington?"

LAST JUNE AND JULY spokesmen for the Agency, testifying before the Appropriations Committees of the Congress, stated that half a billion people annually see our government's propaganda movies. This impressive figure was "strictly made in Washington". It was grossly inaccurate and entirely untrue. In the first place, no attendance records were maintained during the year reported, 1952. Furthermore, the U.S.I.A.'s own operatives abroad have repeatedly stated that the very nature of these rural free film showings makes it impossible to obtain accurate figures. An estimate from Brazil, for the year 1952, gave a total audience in that country, for the year, of 1,281,000. Instead of half a billion people annually, a more correct estimate, and for all countries, would probably total an audience of considerably less than 30 million people annually.

Spokesmen for the U.S. Information Agency, in an effort to justify their operations, like to compare the one billion and a half dollars which, they say, the Soviets spend annually for propaganda, with our own current appropriation, the puny sum of seventy-eight million dollars. This comparison seems startling, but it is untrue. Our propagandists fail to mention the fact that one and one half billion dollars pays for all of the newspaper, magazine and radio activities maintained throughout the entire Soviet Union. If an honest comparison were given, it would have to include all of the press, magazine, radio and television expenditures made each year throughout the United States and this would, of course, exceed the Soviet by many billions of dollars.

Another argument often made in self-defense by our U.S. Information Agency spokesmen is that England, France, Italy and other European countries spend nearly as much for overseas propaganda as we do. The principal European countries, taken together, spend approximately 40 million dollars annually to attract the more than 400,000 Americans who travel abroad each year. The propaganda of the European countries is in reality strictly travel promotion aimed solely at the hundreds of thousands of American vacationists. No mention is ever made of the fact that our own railroads, air lines and steamship companies spend many millions of dollars more than all foreign countries combined in promoting their facilities and services to the American traveller.

Actually, the United States Information Agency is a very costly, high pressure "transmission belt" to maintain and increase giveaways for foreigners. Until it is abolished it will always serve as a "loudspeaker" for Washington politicians anxious to give more and more American dollars to foreigners.

To regain the respect and confidence of foreigners, our Country needs only a compact, honestly administered news bureau within the State Department, staffed by a brand new crew of professional, carefully selected and experienced newspapermen. Their sole duties should be confined to interpreting the really important policies, ideals and objectives of our Government. This should be accomplished chiefly by taking advantage of local "datelines" and utilizing our Ambassadors and Ministers as spokesmen, through the accredited news and radio facilities of the countries where our diplomats are stationed. By replacing stupidity, ignorance, boondoggling and deceit with experience and high competence and by completely abolishing all propaganda gadgets and gimmicks, the American taxpayers can be saved more than $60,000,000 annually and Americans can once again commence to make friends among the peoples of other lands.

EUGENE W. CASTLE, former newspaper reporter, newsreel editor, world traveller and observer, is founder and first president of Castle Films.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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Bricker's Battle I: The cadres of internationalism have been alerted fully and in the past 24 hours have deployed another battalion of shock troops against the famous amendment which bears the Ohio Senator's name and which is designed to protect American sovereignty against the invasion of foreign treaty law.

As predicted in this publication two weeks ago, Mr. Arthur Goldsmith who was a prime mover in the creation of the Committee to Defend the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power is publicly associated with another group, the Committee for Collective Security, just announced today. Like its kindred body formed a fortnight ago, its internationalist character and eastern background of sponsors is conspicuous. The new Committee boasts 100 sponsors and upon investigation it is noted that two-thirds or 66 of these 100 are listed as from the New York City metropolitan and suburban area; and 92 of the 100 are from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New England.

As in the case of the Committee first announced two weeks ago (and nicknamed, as we reported, "The Goldman, Sachs Committee"), the Committee for Collective Security makes a special bid to conservatives. The first Committee artfully claims to "defend the Constitution by, etc." The latest group says of the Bricker Amendment: "This is the most dangerous piece of proposed legislation since the effort to pack the Supreme Court." A little too neat, for critics of the group are asking if such New Deal figures as Telford Taylor (of Nuremberg trials fame), Herbert Bayard Swope, James Shotwell or W. W. Waymack — all listed as sponsors — felt as strongly as that about Mr. Roosevelt's designs on the Supreme Court. Yet, admittedly the techniques used are clever and now for the first time the Bricker Amendment movement is faced by real organizational opposition in the open.

And behind the scenes too. It is reported from the Middle West that the long arm of the New York banking groups and the House of Morgan (which are behind the Committee to Defend the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power) is at work. We learn that business pressure has cowed into silence some people in the Chicago area, formerly sympathetic to the Bricker Amendment. In short, the same techniques employed by Willkie (and his utility empire) in 1940 and by the 1952 backers of Eisenhower against Taft have been thrown into the breach to defeat the heroic attempt to save the sovereignty of the U.S.

Bricker's Battle II: The conflict here in the Capital has reached the stage where attempts at compromise have been dropped and Majority Leader Knowland has scheduled debate on the proposed amendment. Observers here believe that the proposal will come up for debate after the St. Lawrence Seaway bill is disposed of. That would be about February 1.

At present one analysis lists 44 Senators "sure" to vote for the amendment, about 16 "sure against" and the remainder uncertain. A two-thirds vote is necessary for passage. Before the end of the month a "march on Washington" is scheduled to take place and in many states constituents are being urged to let their Senators know their sentiments for the bill.

Meanwhile, the stentorian tones of the Hon. Frank Holman, past President of the American Bar Association, and foremost adversary for the amendment are heard denouncing the title of the Committee

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to Defend the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power, as a "misnomer". Holman, in an eloquent article in *Spotlight* (205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.) says: "When this misnamed committee says the Constitution is 'under attack' by the supporters of the Bricker Amendment, it makes itself ridiculous. Were the first Ten Amendments — our precious Bill of Rights — an 'attack' upon the Constitution? Was it an 'attack' upon the Constitution to close the loopholes which permitted slavery by passing adequate constitutional amendments against it? Was it an 'attack' upon the Constitution to amend it to permit women to vote? Was it an 'attack' upon the Constitution to close the loophole whereby an ambitious President could be elected again and again and even for life to that high office? Were any of the other amendments proposed and approved by the people of the country an 'attack' upon the Constitution?"

State of the Nation: The President's opening messages to Congress have generated more than the usual state of confusion which normally attends the convening of the body. Ike got headlines, all right — it was remarked — but the startling or novel proposals aren't standing up to inspection very well even during the first couple of days of the session.

The suggestion that Communists be deprived of their citizenship (which got the only really thunderous applause that first day) is not the prescription needed — it is observed. What the Communist problem needs most is not the punishment of card-carrying boys around Union Square but the rooting out of crypto-Communists and spies embedded in the Government and elsewhere.

The idea behind Ike's strike vote law is sound. Actually it was Rep. Carroll Kearns (R., Pa.) who first introduced a bill for a strike vote by secret ballot to be held *before* the strike is scheduled to take place.

One conservative complained to us of the welfare state and socialistic philosophy behind the whole Ike program, but brightened up to add: "But it's nice for a change to have a legislative program *submitted* to us and not rammed down our throats."

But others are not so sure of the accuracy of the last remark. The day of the speech, the Citizens for Ike, the "hatchet" organization, was officially announced. No GOP politico who read the release could fail to see that it's well-financed and set up to purge Republicans in the primaries, and maybe even in the elections. One large GOP state delegation, we hear, immediately called a meeting to consider this potential danger to the party.

Not Merely Gossip: A lot of talk in the diplomatic set these days about the friendship between Premier Jahawarlal Nehru of India and Lady Mountbatten of England. A prominent American political figure recently visited India and went to dinner *chez* Nehru. He was surprised to find the titled Englishwoman seated in the hostess' chair. Those who know Nehru say he has long suffered from a strong racial inferiority complex and now naturally shows more than usual satisfaction in this friendship with one whose husband was Viceroy of India under British rule. It may be, it is pointed out, that Lady Mountbatten contributes to the glaring anti-American bias of the Indian premier.

● In State Department corridors, they have used the term "double-suicide" to describe the resignation of Undersecretary Walter Bedell ("Beetle") Smith and Undersecretary of Administration Donald Lourie. Both men are expected to be gone from their jobs within a month. Who will succeed them? It is believed only one post will be filled — that of "Beetle" Smith, and many say the new Undersecretary will be former Ambassador Robert Murphy. Murphy is now Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs. He is an amiable man with long diplomatic experience and no visible enemies. But if Dulles wants his shop "cleaned out", as Senators vociferously demand, Murphy would have no kidney for such a task. It is agreed by all who know him that Ambassador Loy Henderson would be the most able man for the job. He has a long anti-Communist record and he knows those who should not be but are in the

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State Department. Now that the Iranian situation is clearing up (largely due to Henderson's adroitness there), it may be that he can be brought back to Washington and given this key job.

Press Front: Word comes from Chicago that Eugene Griffin, the *Chicago Tribune's* correspondent in Ottawa, Canada, has been given a citation for valorous journalistic conduct (no doubt referring to his recent revival of the Gouzenko case) by a local Chicago organization. It would be too much, of course, to expect that the lofty powers-that-be who nominate and elect the annual Pulitzer prize winners would ever consider Griffin. For one thing, he's really made international news embarrassing to the powers-that-be by reporting Gouzenko's belief that there are a lot of red spy Rings operating in the U.S. today. For another, the Pulitzer body is probably trying to select some harmless mediocrity on some mediocre metropolitan paper which for no reason at all has not been given a Pulitzer in recent years. "It's time we gave the ---- Blatter an award, don't you think?"

● Mr. Basil Brewer, enterprising publisher of the *Standard Times* of New Bedford, Mass., not long ago sent one of his staff writers, Edward B. Simmons, to Washington to investigate the "Truman holdover bureaucracy" under the Eisenhower administration. Mr. Simmons gave the title "Trojan Horse in Washington" to his series (which appeared November 11, 12, 13 and 14, 1953), and did a good job, particularly on the State Department situation. Readers of HUMAN EVENTS since last spring would find much familiar material on the latter subject, but Simmons also amassed some interesting data on other agencies of the Government. One might wish this *Standard Times* series could be made into pamphlet or book form, for wider readership and reference usage.

Speaking of the New Bedford *Standard Times* reminds us that there are quite a few excellent, independent, individualist papers scattered here and there in various cities across the country. In the East, we have in mind, among others, Bill Loeb's Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader*, the *Boston Post*, the Buffalo *Evening News*, the Cincinnati *Times-Star* and the *Inquirer*, the Omaha *World-Herald* and the Hoiles chain in the Southwest.

● To such dailies as described above, a new enterprise, The Literary Journal, might prove attractive. Editors out in the country must, by this time, be all too aware of the slanted leftist work of the Eastern metropolitan book reviews, how they push Communist books and "black out" good anti-Communist and conservative books. Classic Features (434 Broadway, New York 13, N.Y.) presents weekly The Literary Journal, a syndicated book page (including art). The editor, Mr. Edward M. Case, says his aim is not only to "counteract the intellectual toxins being poured into the American mind" but also to "raise purely literary and cultural standards". He has an excellent corps of reviewers including John Chamberlain, Ralph de Toledano, Burton Rascoe, Felix Wittmer and William Henry Chamberlin — names familiar to readers of HUMAN EVENTS. From the looks of one sample weekly issue we have read, the level of its output is high.

Trading With the Enemy: Harold Stassen may deserve the ironic nickname "Wonder Boy", but the Administration may find him actually a "problem child". Congressional personalities are making ready some sharp questions about Stassen's statement of last week that trade with Iron Curtain countries has been liberalized during the past six months. Stassen passed the buck to the National Security Council for the decision. But Stassen's apparent approval of the move (plus his one-world background) fits into a general left-wing pattern of agitation which has been emerging recently.

The pattern is obviously designed to bring about recognition of Red China and its admission to the UN. In various ways, the very recognizable phalanx of New Deal columnists has been busy these past few weeks — well orchestrated, one sounding this note, another sounding that — talking of "liberalization" of trade, how Red China is growing "independent" of Moscow, etc., etc. There was even one attempt to attribute to Mr. Herbert Hoover the suggestion that we must trade with Red China. (Actually, Mr. Hoover has been the godfather of the Committee of a Million, devoted to opposing admission of Red China to the UN.) Such false charges, of course, characterize the efforts of this kind of propaganda chorus.

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However, Capitol Hill may not prove very merciful to Harold. Many members regard him with contempt as a perennial presidential hopeful who never "gets anywhere" in this effort, and who undeservedly was given a prominent position in the Ike Administration. In short, they are "laying for" Stassen and especially on the subject of "trading with the enemy".

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Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace. Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes. The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho. $6.00. Reviewed by Willis Ballinger.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is a symposium by outstanding scholars and journalists on the foreign policy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This volume may well serve as a powerful arsenal to combat the menace of internationalism to America. It sustains two important theses: (1) American participation in both World War I and II were tragic mistakes. (2) Further involvement in the wars and politics of Europe is certain to destroy us as a nation.

For more than twenty years American civilization has been subjected to such a barrage of false propaganda that millions of young Americans have been indoctrinated with the spirit of national and international socialism, while millions of adults have become confused and uncertain in their thinking. Nowhere has this destructive propaganda scored a greater triumph than in the field of foreign affairs. Although after World War I our historical scholars were able to seek the truth and publish it to the American people, the seekers of historical truth after World War II have found themselves in an atmosphere of repression — an atmosphere where a vast bureaucracy bent on concealing the blunders of Roosevelt and Truman in the sphere of foreign affairs has effectively wielded power to discourage or prevent publication of the facts.

Dr. Barnes terms this hostile atmosphere "the historical blackout" and he shows convincingly that it has become a terrible reality foreshadowing the complete subordination of historical truth to the needs of Pendergast politics. Ominously looming on the horizon of the nation's intellectual endeavors in the social sciences is the power of great foundations and private organizations and the government itself to exert a censorship over truth that, unarrested, can only end in the totalitarianization of scholarship in these vital fields of research.

We do not regard *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* as a perfect book. For example, we are considerably nonplussed that Dr. Barnes sees fit to praise a leftist magazine for publishing articles exposing interventionism while failing to mention HUMAN EVENTS which in the past decade has scored some of the most striking "beats" in the revisionist field. There is a repetitive air about this volume which suggests carelessness in editing. Parts of the book are also guilty of language which may pass for scholarship, but which actually torments the mind and hides the needle of thought in a haystack of abstractions. But these faults tend to disappear and become negligible in the sweep of the book with its truly brilliant contributions by Dr. Tansill, Messrs. Chamberlin and Morgenstern and others.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace should be in our high schools. It should be in our Universities. It should be read by millions of citizens. But it appears already to be on the smear list of those who make or break books. Let me end with a suggestion to parents:

If you have children in high school or college get this book. First read it carefully yourself. Then see that your children read it and discuss it with you. Thereafter, as adults, make use of the arsenal of facts provided in it to combat the propaganda of the internationalists at your club, lodge or society, and write letters to your paper or radio station when you read or hear their propaganda. In brief, make yourself and your children vocal in your community in the battle to save America from the clever foreign plotters who seek its destruction.

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